

the *De uirginitate* (1383) also echoes *Contra Symmachum* II.780; all are listed by Manitius (1886 p 571). BEDE possibly echoes the *Contra Symmachum* in his metrical VITA S. CUTHBERTI (281: *Contra Symmachum* I.192; 585: I.480). ALCUIN echoes the work in his metrical VITA WILLIBRORDI (IV.12: *Contra Symmachum* II.448) and in his CARMINA (IX.37: *Contra Symmachum* II.1114)—neither is noted in the editions. Byrhtferth echoes *Contra Symmachum* II.477–78 in his *Manual* 8.10 (*ByrM*, B20.20.1).

Dittochaeon [PRVD.Ditt.]: CPL 1444.

- MSS 1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 223: HG 70.
 2. Cambridge, Trinity College O.2.31 (1135): HG 190.
 3. Durham, Cathedral Library B.IV.9: HG 246.
 4. Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium F.3.6 (SC 2666): HG 537.
 5. Oxford, Oriel College 3: HG 680.

Lists see introduction above.

A-S Vers none.

Quots/Cits ALCVIN.Epist. 26.44: PRVD.Ditt. 3.

Refs none.

The *Dittochaeon* consists of 48 tetrastichs, the first 24 of which present stories or scenes from the Old Testament, the second 24 from the New Testament; the word is coined from two Greek words meaning “double” and “food,” since Christians receive sustenance from both Testaments.

ALDHELM echoes the work in his CARMINA ECCLESIASTICA (IV.ii.2: *Dittochaeon* 190—see Manitius 1886 p 571). BEDE echoes it in his metrical VITA S. CUTHBERTI (478: *Dittochaeon* 138).

Epilogus [PRVD.Epil.]: CPL 1445.

- MSS 1. Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale 189: HG 805.
 2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 223: HG 70.
 3. Durham, Cathedral Library B.IV.9: HG 246.
 4. Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium F.3.6 (SC 2666): HG 537.

Lists see introduction above.

A-S Vers see below.

Quots/Cits—Refs none.

In the *Epilogus*, Prudentius prays that God may accept his poems as a suitable gift. Old English glosses appear in MS 1 (see AC C94.1, but the glosses are attributed there to the *PSYCHOMACHIA*). The *Epilogus* does not seem to be echoed by any Anglo-Saxon writer.

Gernot Wieland

RALPH D'ESCURES

Homily on the Virgin [RALPH.d'Es.Hom.].

MSS ? Worcester, Cathedral Library F.94.

Lists none.

A-S Vers LS 22 (B3.3.22).

Quots/Cits—Refs none.

Ralph d'Escures was Bishop of Rochester (1108–14), and later archbishop of Canterbury (1114–22). His homily on the Virgin Mary appears in Worcester F.94 (fols 1–2v), which is now regarded, with F.93, as a companion volume to Worcester F.92 (HG 763). The F.94 volume includes homilies from PAUL THE DEACON'S HOMILIARY, but has many additions of which this late homily is one. It was translated into Old English in the twelfth century, MS Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, printed by Warner (GR 5292). Max Förster (GR 6222) noted the source of the Old English, and later (1932) refined to take into account Wilmart's (1927) attribution.

The homily, with a prologue, is printed among the works of Anselm (Homily 9) in PL 158.644–49 (Bibliography Part I). It also appears without a prologue in PL 95.1505–08.

J.E. Cross

RATRAMNUS: DS 13.147–53; DCT 13.1780–87; and NCE 12.93–94.

De corpore et sanguine Domini [RATRAM.CORB.Corp.sang.Dom.].

MSS—A-S Vers none.

Quots/Cits AECHom II, 15 (B1.2.18): see below.

Refs none.

Ratramnus, a monk from the abbey of Corbie, is best known for his eucharistic treatise *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (written around 850), which challenges the realistic or metabolic interpretation of Christ's presence in the Eucharist put forward by his superior at Corbie, the abbot PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS. Ratramnus makes a distinction between the sacramental and historical body of Christ, arguing that “the bread and the blood that are placed on the altar are placed there as a figure (*in figuram*) or memorial of the death of the Lord” (p 68). This more figurative interpretation of the

Eucharistic presence (*ad modum Ideae*) may be influenced by Platonic thought (see Fahey 1951), and certainly owes much to Augustinian analysis.

The treatise is the principal source for ÆLFRIC's Easter homily (B1.2.18), which was noted as early as 1624 by James Ussher, and later in the century by Hopkins (1686). Förster (GR 5300) gives a brief summary of other scholarship on the text, and Leinbaugh (1982 and 1986) surveys the history of the controversy raised by Ælfric's synthesis of the opposing views of Ratramnus and Paschasius.

In a recent general study of Ratramnus, Bouhot (1976) argues that Ælfric had no direct knowledge of Ratramnus (pp 145–46), but his argument does not take into account the precise nature of Ælfric's translations of Ratramnus. Bouhot's assertion that Ælfric and Ratramnus share "resemblances" simply because they share a common subject of interest should be disregarded.

Theodore H. Leinbaugh

SULPICIUS SEVERUS: *CPL* 474–77; *DTC* 14.2759–62; *NCE* 13.787–88.

Sulpicius Severus, who lived between 363 and 420, was a friend of Martin of Tours and PAULINUS OF NOLA, among others, and was a major Christian intellectual in Gaul. His works on Martin not only had immediate popularity, but also had lasting influence on hagiography.

Old English writers used the *Martiniana*, that is the *VITA*, *EPISTULAE*, and *DIALOGI*, to construct their lives of St Martin (among other sources). It would appear that Sulpicius wrote the *Vita* when Martin was still alive, requiring later writers to go beyond the *Vita* for a full, rounded life of the saint from birth to apotheosis. After the individual headnotes, these three works will be treated as together in the discussion. There is no evidence for the use of Sulpicius' other major work, *Chronicorum libri III* (*CPL* 474; *RBMA* 7963), in Anglo-Saxon England; see van Andel (1976).

Vita Martini Turonensis [SVLP.SEV.Vit.Mart.]: *CPL* 475; *BHL* 5610.

- MSS* 1. Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale 29: HG 782.
2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9: HG 36.
3. Cambridge, Trinity Hall 21: HG 201.
4. Hereford, Cathedral Library Ovi.11: HG 264.

5. London, BL Add. 40074: HG 296.

6. Vatican, Reg. lat. 489: HG 915.

Lists Peterborough: ML 13.61.

A-S Vers 1. *ÆCHom II* 34 (B1.2.42) 1–221, and 228–38.

2. *ÆLS* 31 (B1.3.30) 1–649, and 706–844.

3. *LS* 17 (B3.3.17; ed Szarmach 1981a) 6–(C1–31)–145.

4. *Mart* (B19.iu).

5. *ALCVIN.Vit.Mart*.

6. *ALDH.Pro.su.ig.* 261–62.

Quots/Cits *LS* 3 (B3.33) 1–10, and 220–39.

Refs *ÆLS* 31 (B1.3.30) 1–9.

Epistulae iii [SVLP.SEV.Epist.]: *CPL* 476; *BHL* 5611–13.

MSS 1. Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale 29: HG 782.

2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9: HG 36.

3. Cambridge, Trinity Hall 21: HG 20.

4. London, BL Add. 40074: HG 296.

5. ? Vatican, Reg. lat. 489; HG 915.

Lists none.

A-S Vers 1. *ÆCHom II* 34 (B1.2.42) 270–313.

2. *ÆLS* 31 (B1.3.30) 845–900, 1306–84.

3. *LS* 17 (B3.3.17; ed Szarmach 1981a) 146–(C1–128)–77.

4. *ALCVIN.Vit.Mart*.

Quots/Cits – *Refs* none.

Dialogorum Libri iii [SVLP.SEV.Dial.]: *CPL* 477; *BHL* 5614–16.

MSS 1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9: HG 36.

2. Cambridge, Trinity Hall 21: HG 201.

3. Hereford Cathedral Library, Ovi.11: HG 264.

4. London, BL Add. 40074: HG 296.

5. ? Vatican, Reg. lat. 489: HG 915.

Lists none.

A-S Vers 1. *ÆCHom II* 34 (B1.2.42) 152–54, 221–28, 252–66.

2. *ÆLS* 31 (B1.3.30) 650–705, 901–1305.

3. *Mart* (B19.iu).

4. *ALCVIN.Vit.Mart*.

Quots/Cits – *Refs* none.

ÆLFRIC opens his Life of Martin (*ÆLS* 31) with mention of Sulpicius "who wished to write about the miracles and powerful works" Martin did, but Ælfric does not indicate the precise works he himself followed. The Life of Martin is the longest in Ælfric's collection.

Ælfric bases his homiletic treatments of Martin on the *Vita*, which he abridges, *Dialogi II et III*, but he also goes to the *Epistula III*, and GREGORY OF TOURS' *HISTORIA FRANCORUM*. Gerould (GR 5357) sees conscientiousness and narrative skill in both of Ælfric's treatments, pointing out as well that Ælfric widened the scope of his reading in the years between his two treatments (p 206).

Zettel (1982) argues that Ælfric did not go to the original works of Sulpicius and Gregory of Tours but rather drew on "an intermediate source of edited *Martiniana* closely resembling, if not identical with, that now preserved in the COTTON-CORPUS COLLECTION" (p 26; see LEGENDARIES). Before Zettel scholars (e.g. Gaites 1982) readily assumed that Ælfric creditably or even artfully followed Sulpicius and other sources directly.

The anonymous Old English version found in Vercelli 18 (and also the Blickling Homilies and Oxford, Junius 86) omits the prologue and chapters 1, 4, 6, 9, 11-13, 18-19, and 21-25 of the 27-chapter *Vita*, offering judicious selections from the remaining chapters that omit the ecclesiastical-political struggles of Gaul and retain Martin's campaigns against heathenism. This work also includes material from the *Epistula III*. Szarmach (1978), Gaites (1982), and Dalbey (1984) offer studies on this homily making comparisons with Ælfric.

Martin is remembered in the Old English *Martyrology* on his feast-day, November 11. In addition to material from the *Vita*, this entry draws on one incident from the *Dialogi III.14*.

ALCUIN'S *VITA S. MARTINI*, only one of four saints' lives attributed to him, draws on Sulpicius' *Vita* and *Dialogi*, while the *Sermo de Transitu Sancti Martini*, coming after the *Vita* in Migne-Frobenius, follows the *Epistula III*. I Deug-Su (1981) compares Alcuin with Sulpicius, noting as well relations with Alcuin's other saints' lives. Chelini (1962) is disappointed by the absence of originality in Alcuin's *Vita*.

In editorial discussions of this entry, Gordon Whatley writes "Phrases and passages of the *Vita Martini* are echoed, without acknowledgment, in BEDE's prose *VITA CUTHBERTI* 198.11-12; the anonymous *VITA CUTHBERTI* 62.15-63.1; FELIX's *VITA GUTHLACI* 60.9-15. 162.17-30; ABBO, *PASSIO EAD-MUNDI II.18*, IV.3; and WULFSTAN OF WINCHESTER, *VITA ÆTHELWOLDI XIX.13*."

Paul E. Szarmach

VEGETIUS RENATUS, FLAVIUS: OCD 1110-11.

Epitoma rei militaris [VEGETepit.].

MSS 1. London, BL Cotton Cleopatra D.i: HG 325.

2. London, BL Harley 3859: HG 439.

Lists—A-S Vers none.

Quots/Cits 1. BEDA.Retract.Act. XXVII.33-34.: Veget.epit. 60.15-19.

2. BEDA.Hist.eccl. 26.6-8: Veget.epit. 26.12-13, 26.20-21.

3. BEDA.Temp.rat. XXVIII.22-32.: see below.

4. BEDA.Vit.Cuthb.pr. XVII.16-18.: see below.

5. ALCVIN.Epist. 415.5.: Veget.epit. 4.4-6, 5.7-8.

Refs none.

This work, also known as *De re militari*, is the only ancient Roman military manual to have survived intact, and was composed by Vegetius between 383 and 450 AD.

BEDE provides the earliest known use of Vegetius by an Anglo-Saxon. He quotes Vegetius (with slight adaptations for sense) in chapter 28 of *DE TEMPORUM RATIONE*: Vegetius 152.10-16 in lines 22-29 and Vegetius 152.18-153.3 in lines 29-32; later in the same work and again in his prose *LIFE OF CUTHBERT*, Bede defines the Greek word "rheuma" by drawing on Vegetius' use of the Latin word "aestus" (*Epitoma* 161.1-14; see Jones 1932 p 248, and Colgrave and Mynors 1969 p 214 and note 24). G. Macdonald (1933 p 124) qualifies Jones and suggests a glossary as an alternate source for Bede's definition of "rheuma." Bede also draws on Vegetius in *RETRACTATIONES IN ACTUS APOSTOLORUM* 27, in his definition of the Greek word "monoxulas." In his *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY*, Bede uses Vegetius in his discussion of Severus, "borrowing a description of a turf wall" (Colgrave and Mynors, 1969, p 26 note); this passage is largely paraphrase, but does contain two direct quotes: lines 6-7 are taken from Vegetius 26.12-13, lines 7-8 from Vegetius 26.20-21 (Jones 1932 p 249).

ALCUIN also knew Vegetius; in one of his *Epistolae*, Alcuin draws on the preface of *Epitoma rei militaris* in his discussion of Charlemagne (Wallach 1959 pp 50-51 and note). With the exception of one substantial interpolation, Alcuin quotes Vegetius directly, making slight adaptations for sense.

The most recent complete modern English translation of *Epitoma rei Militaris* is Clarke (1767).

The most complete contemporary English translation is that of Books I and II by Silhanek (1972). Schoner (1888) is still considered an excellent source for information about Vegetius; more recent studies include Gordon (1974) and Shrader (1979). Lester (1988) contains a useful survey of scholarship on Vegetius and an extensive bibliography.

Deborah Mitchell

VITAE PATRUM

The large body of material that is often loosely referred to in modern scholarship as the *Vitae patrum* was in no sense a single work or even the organized collection that appears in the printed edition of Rosweyde (reprinted in the *PL* 73–74). There is ample evidence that during the Middle Ages the term (often in the form of *Vita* or *Vitas patrum*) was used to refer to almost any work concerned with the lives and sayings of the first monks, the “desert fathers” of Egypt and the Near East. It is true that in time several such texts commonly circulated together; the *Life of Antony*, the *Life of Paul*, and the *VERBA SENIORUM* are typical examples. But Rosweyde’s edition was merely a compilation, and inevitably it imposed a false unity on a number of books that often had their own, quite distinct, textual histories. However, the name itself is found from a very early period, for in the 530s it was mentioned in the *BENEDICTINE RULE*, and a little later the title was imitated by GREGORY OF TOURS in his own *LIBER VITAE PATRUM*; see Batlle (1972).

The appeal that such writings must have had to a monastic audience is obvious, for they offered paradigms of conduct in a way that was both arresting and easy to memorize. Certainly their widespread popularity in the Middle Ages cannot be disputed, for there are over 100 complete MSS of the *Verba seniorum* alone dating from the seventh to the fifteenth century, and MSS of selections or of isolated sayings from it are more numerous still. It would in fact be highly surprising if these books had *not* been known to the Anglo-Saxons.

There are, however, some difficulties in establishing the use of the *Vitae patrum* in Anglo-Saxon England that require some comment here. First, as in many other cases, it is quite certain that the early English encountered the work at second hand, by means of intermediate sources. For instance, DEFENSOR OF LIGUGÉ’S *LIBER SCINTILLARUM* includes over sixty extracts vaguely attributed by the compiler to the *Vitae patrum*, though in fact they are drawn from an extraordinary variety of sources, of which the material now thought of as the *Vitae Patrum* is only one (see Rochais *CCSL* 117). Other examples of the use of such an intermediate source, this time by ALCUIN and ÆLFRIC, are noted below under the *Verba seniorum*. Second, undefined references to the desert fathers do not in themselves constitute evidence of the use of the *Vitae patrum*. Such references abound in Old English and Anglo-Latin literature. For example, in FELIX’S *LIFE OF GUTHLAC* (see *ACTA SANCTORUM*), it is reported that the saint was inspired to follow an eremitic life “when he read about the solitary life of monks of former days” (86.13–14), and this detail found its way into the Old English prose life (*LS* 10, B.3.3.10; II.106–10). BEDE gives similar information about the monk Egbert (*HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA* 344.19–20), and this too was copied into the Old English

homily on St Chad (*LS* 3, B.3.3.3; 193–95). Such reports do no more than indicate a general acquaintance by the authors with the biographies of the first monks. They cannot be used to determine which books the authors—let alone the saints—had actually read. (It is, in fact, well-known from other evidence that Felix was greatly influenced by EVAGRIUS’ translation of the *LIFE OF ANTONY* by ATHANASIUS.)

Finally, there is a problem of definition: which books would an Anglo-Saxon audience have understood by the term *Vitae patrum*? Here, at least, the evidence is tolerably clear. Many of the references to the term in the Old English and Anglo-Latin texts are too vague to be of use; however, as Cross (1985a) has shown, in the four instances where Ælfric names the work and extracts an anecdote, the material comes from only one source—the fifth and sixth books of Rosweyde’s *Vitae patrum*, the *Verba seniorum*. The only specific evidence that the term could have meant anything *other* in the Anglo-Saxon period is provided by an inscription in Worcester, Cathedral Library F.48, which reads “In nomine Dei summi incipit vita patrum” (fol 49): this inscription stands at the head of a copy of Rosweyde’s Book II, the *HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO* by RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA.

In what follows, then, it will be assumed that these two books, and these only, were certainly regarded as “*Vitae patrum*” by the Anglo-Saxons. Hence there will be no discussion of the so-called “*vitae maiores*,” such as the Evagrian *Life of Antony* or JEROME’S *LIVES OF PAUL, HILARION, and MALCHUS*, which Rosweyde prints in Book I of his edition. The only other book that will be dealt with here is the so-called *PARADISUS HERACLIDIS*, a work whose subject-matter and manner of treatment are so close to those of the *HISTORIA MONACHORUM* that it deserves to be considered here rather than in an article of its own.

[For this *Trial Version*, only the section on the *Paradisus Heraclidis* has been included.]

Paradisus Heraclidis [ANON.Par.Her.]: *CPG* 6036; *BHL* 6532.

MSS 1. Cambridge, University Library Ff.5.27: HG 10.

2. Hereford, Cathedral Library P.ii.5: HG 267.

Lists Peterborough?: ML 13.45.

A-S Vers none.

Quots/Cits ANON.Vit.Cuthb.: see below.

Refs none.

The *Paradisus Heraclidis* is the longer of two Latin translations of the *Lausiac History* of Palladius of Helenopolis, a work which was composed about 419–20 and which contains an autobiographical account of encounters with the desert fathers (see Butler 1898–1904, and for a different view Draguet

1978). This longer translation itself survives in two recensions; the second, a considerably revised and expanded version of the first, is printed in the unsatisfactory edition of Rosweyde (*PL* 74.243–342). The wording of the biblical quotations in the *original* recension suggests that it was composed in Africa some time before the end of the fifth century (see Burkitt in Butler 1898–1904). It is not known who the author was; Rampolla del Tindaro (1905) points out that in some MSS he is identified as a deacon named Paschasius, but this attribution is authoritatively rejected by Batlle (1961). The authorship, place of origin and date of the *revised* recension are all unknown: the Heraclides named in the title is a fifth-century Bishop of Ephesus who is known to have had no connection whatever with the work, either in Greek or Latin.

The two MSS of the *Paradisus* are both from late in the period. According to Bishop (1954) the Cambridge MS was written at Durham late in the eleventh or early in the twelfth century; there is no evidence of the origin or date of its exemplar. The Hereford MS is of unknown origin, but it is a little earlier than the Cambridge MS, though still probably post-Conquest (Sir Roger Mynors, personal communication).

Indications that the work was known earlier in Anglo-Saxon England are slight and far from conclusive. The most suggestive evidence is to be found in two passages in the anonymous *LIFE OF CUTHBERT* and its successors. The first of these (ANON.Vit.Cuthb. 76.18–78.20) relates how the saint, having unwittingly entertained an angelic visitor, was rewarded by the miraculous gift of three warm loaves. This story was copied into the prose and metrical *LIVES OF CUTHBERT* by BEDE (prose 176.2–178.22; metrical 180–219), and into ÆLFRIC's homily on the Deposition of Cuthbert (*ÆCHom* II, 10, B1.2.11; 63–73). Miracles of this type are of course extremely common in saints' lives; there are examples in the *HISTORIA MONACHORUM* (*PL* 21.401 and 431), in the *DIALOGUES* of SULPICIOUS SEVERUS (162.5–163.19), and indeed elsewhere in the anonymous *Life* itself (70.5–25) — the ultimate source being the feeding of Elijah in the desert (III Rg 17.6). However, the *Paradisus* (*PL* 74.341) shares with the Cuthbert story — and against the other version — the number of loaves (three), and may provide in its third person narration, under the guise of the miracle having happened to a lifelong companion of the writer, a source for Bede's comment that the saint would tell such stories "as though they happened to another person."

The second case in the anonymous *Life of Cuthbert* — a description of a vision that the saint had concerning the day and hour of the slaying of King Ecgfrith (122.7–27) — is less convincing. The story was copied by Bede in both his prose and metrical *Lives*, but is not found in Ælfric. Colgrave points out that a similar story is told in the *Paradisus* about Didymus of Alexandria,

who saw in a trance the death of Julian the Apostate at the exact moment that the event happened (*PL* 74.254–55), but in his edition of Bede's metrical life, Jaager (610–26) shows that there is an equally similar account in ADAMNAN's *Life of Columba* (I.8), and it is at least as likely that the author of the anonymous *Life of Cuthbert* had access to this as to the *Paradisus*.

Peter Jackson